

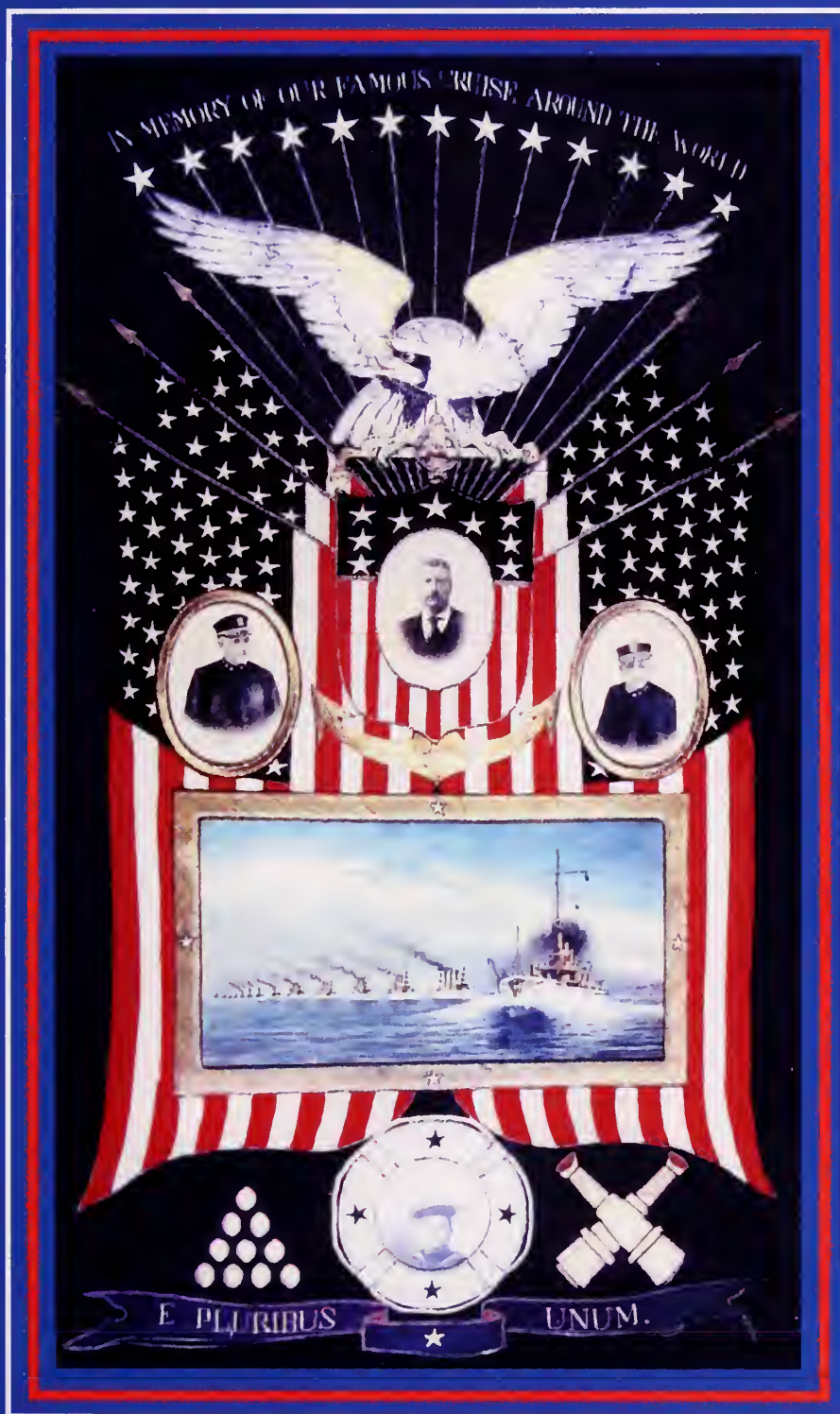
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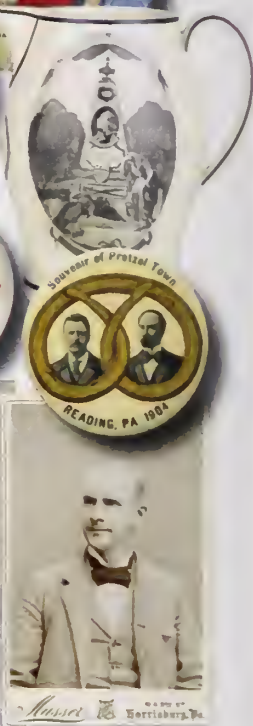
KEYNOTER

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Military in Politics

Elections in Wartime • The Great White Fleet



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FROM THE APIC PRESIDENT



MILITARY AND POLITICS ISSUE

Dear fellow APIC members,

This issue of the Keynoter focuses on a very unique perspective, the former military service of our Presidents. Gentlemen farmers, businessmen, lawyers and a host of other backgrounds have been laid aside in time of war by our Presidents to answer our nation's call.

Some made the military their careers, while some served their tours of duty and resumed their civilian lives. In either instance, history proves that from the formation of our nation to the present day, their military service has been publicly mentioned in an effort to establish credibility, leadership and a willingness to make personal sacrifices for the greater good. However, history also establishes this is an age old practice and certainly not limited to America. In any age, military service has always been viewed as a noble cause, the epitome of service and sacrifice. Indeed, a popular saying of ancient Rome resurfaced in a British World War One poem; *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* - How sweet and noble it is to die for one's country.

The fact that military service has traditionally been touted by those seeking elected public office raises another issue. In my childhood, my father, a US Army veteran of Korea, was very active in veterans' affairs, and always took me to the Veterans' Day parade. For many years, I was in the parade with him. I recall at an early age watching marching columns of World War I veterans. This procession would be followed by columns of World War II vets, columns of the vets of Korea and then those of Viet Nam. General MacArthur's words hold true; old soldiers do indeed fade away. Over the years, the WWI columns shrank, and I recall by my teens seeing only a half dozen of the "Victory Boys" riding in a convertible. Now, they have all passed and re-enactors in WWI uniforms march in their place. Similarly, the WWII veterans have had a visibly diminishing presence. The national media reports that we are losing our aging WWII and Korea vets at an alarming rate, and many veterans of Viet Nam are now of retirement age.

Will military service continue to be a cornerstone of credibility in our nation's campaigns from the courthouse to the White House? Will the veterans of Desert Storm, Desert Shield and Operation Iraqi Freedom run for office and tout their military service in their campaign brochures and commercials? I believe the answer is yes and proven by history. General Patton once remarked that "Americans love a hero and will not tolerate a loser." Herein lies one of the great continuums of American politics; who would ever elect a loser?

Yours in Progress,

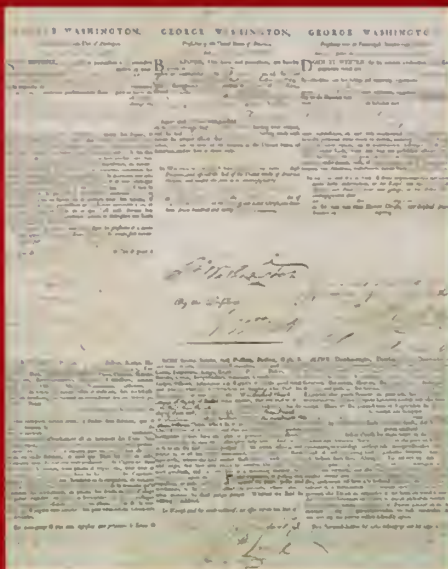
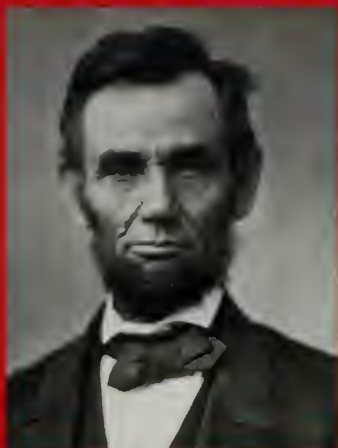
A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "BKrapf".

Brian Krapf
President



General Goldwater

Known as the 1964 Republican presidential nominee, Barry Goldwater was also a major general in the Air Force Reserve. He had served as a pilot in the Army Air Corps during WWII and later organized the Arizona National Guard. While serving as a senator, he flew the Air Force's newest jets and drew much support among the military. The pictured button features Goldwater as a jet pilot.

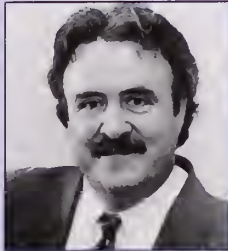


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EDITOR'S MESSAGE

From a libertarian point of view, national defense is one of the most legitimate reasons for a strong national government and those with more orthodox views tend to support it as well. Only internationalists of a Socialist bent seem to resist the allure of the military when it comes to electoral politics and a photograph in uniform is one of the basic tools of a candidate's image.



Of all the activities of government, war is that with the most serious consequences. With America once again in a war in Iraq, the consequences for good and ill will be with us for generations.

This issue looks at the impact of the military experience in politics, from the first George W. (Washington) to the current George W. (Bush). Military success brings honor and notoriety. Honor and notoriety are critical ingredients for a successful political career and the ranks of public officials are thick with veterans while the ranks of presidents and presidential nominees are thick with generals (and even a few lower ranks as well).

Last issue, we failed to credit Steven Ominsky (APIC #5698) for the rare "Towne for Vice President" ribbon pictured on page 37 of the Spring issue. Sorry for the oversight, Steve, and thanks for sharing one of the treasures in your collection.

A special thanks goes out to Germaine Broussard who, aside from specializing in firefighter memorabilia, has devoted literally hundreds of hours to finding and cleaning many of the images that appear in these pages

Michael Kelly
Editor

Features

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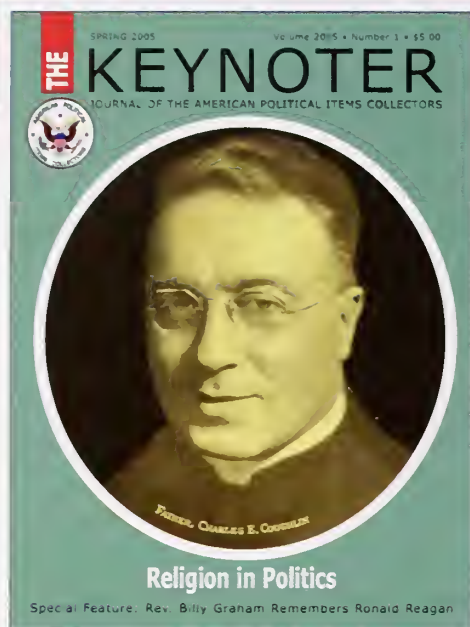
ILLUSTRATIONS--The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Stephen Baxley, Larry Brokofsky, Germaine Broussard, Robert Fratkin, John Gingerich, Harvey Goldberg, Brian Krapf, Ben Price, Paul Rozyski, Albert Salter and Phil Shimkin.

FRONT COVER--A beautiful embroidered fabric celebrating the around the world trip of the Great White Fleet, courtesy of the U.S. Naval Museum.

SUBMISSIONS--*This is your publication. Please feel free to share your ideas, suggestions, illustrations and stories. The Keynoter is delighted to share pictures of interesting political Americana with its readers. When submitting an illustration, send it as an .eps, .jpg or .pdf file to mkelly@mcc.edu. Illustrations should be in color and submitted in digital format with at least 300 dpi resolution (preferably higher). Files must be created at 100% of actual size or larger (smaller risks losing clarity). Digital electronic images should be saved to a minimum of 300 dpi as TIF, GIF, JPEG or EPS files, preferably in Adobe Photoshop.*

If you don't have access to a scanner or high-resolution digital camera, you can take your items to graphic service bureaus, such as Kinko's, and have them scanned in the specification mentioned above. You can then send the file by e-mail, on a CD or on a zip disk. If sending by zip disk, please supply return address.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



As an old Keynoter associate editor and Bull Moose editor, I appreciate the magnificent job you do as the editor of our journal. Your skill and dedication is truly magnificent. I, for one, am only too aware of what it is like to try to put something like The Keynoter together, issue after issue. Thank you for your fine efforts.

Jon Curtis APIC #143

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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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DAVID LINDEMAN

Presidents, Politics and the Military

By Michael Kelly



George Washington was said to have been "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." It is worth noting that, of the three, war came first. Our nation's first president was chosen for that office because he had led the new Republic's military in its first war.

Ever since, the role of the President as Commander-in-Chief has been a preeminent consideration in choosing among the ambitious candidates on offer. Of the 42 men who have become president (Grover Cleveland was numbered twice because he had non-consecutive terms, making President George W. Bush number 43) only 15 had no record of military service and four of those led the nation through war. Of the latter, Madison was President during the War of 1812 (which America lost, despite the emphasis on the Battle of New Orleans found in American textbooks), Polk during the Mexican-American War, Wilson during World War I and Franklin Roosevelt during World War II. Other presidents with no military service record were the two Adams, Jefferson, VanBuren, Fillmore, Cleveland, Taft, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover and Clinton.

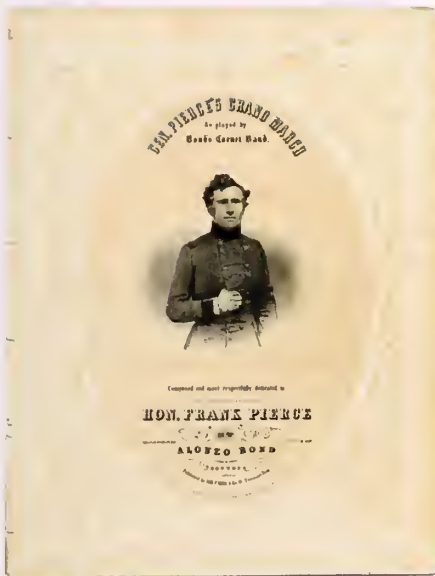
The longest stretch of presidents without military service came before and after World War I when the country went from Taft to FDR with non-veterans (although FDR had been the civilian Assistant Secretary of the Navy).

Many presidents came to the White House because of their military success. General Andrew Jackson's success at the Battle of New Orleans, General William Henry Harrison's victory at the Battle of Tippecanoe, General Zachary Taylor's



Center: In 1840, Whig General William Henry Harrison was elected in a campaign marked with hoopla and campaign items like this ribbon. Left and right: Grand National Banners from 1848 when Democrats Gen. Lewis Cass and Gen. William Butler were defeated by Whigs Gen. Zachary Taylor and civilian Millard Fillmore (who became President when Taylor died in office). (All items shown reduced).

Top right: Porcelain and bronze curtain tie-back. Top left: Copper shank clothing button.



When Franklin Pierce ran for President in 1852, much was made of his having served as a general in the Mexican-American War.



winning campaign in Mexico, General U.S. Grant's triumph in the Civil War, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's brave charge at San Juan Hill, General Dwight Eisenhower's leadership in World War II and even Lieutenant John F. Kennedy's dramatic loss of PT-109 led directly to their political appeal.

While General Winfield Scott, General George McClellan, General Winfield Hancock and many others (including most recently General Wesley Clark) can attest that military success is no guarantee of political success, it certainly helps.

Not every president was famous for his military service but most at least put their time in. James Monroe was a major in the Revolutionary War, John Tyler raised a company to defend Richmond during the War of 1812, Franklin Pierce was a general during the Mexican American War, James Buchanan served as a private for part of 1814 and Abe Lincoln was a captain in the Blackhawk War. The Civil War produced an abundance of political leaders; Andrew Johnson, Rutherford Hayes, James Garfield, Chester A. Arthur and Benjamin Harrison were all generals in that massive conflict and even William McKinley served as a major. It should be noted that General Arthur's rank reflected his skill as a quartermaster rather than on the battlefield, but a well-supplied army is often a winning army.

Harry Truman was a captain in World War I while Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan and the first George Bush all served as officers during World War II.

In recent politics, William Clinton's lack of service and George W. Bush's National Guard service both generated significant controversy.

Losing presidential nominees also had plenty of military service. In the early days of the Republic, presidential candidates George Clinton, Thomas Pinckney and Charles Pinckney had been generals and Aaron Burr a lieutenant colonel. General Lewis Cass was the Democratic nominee in 1848, although he had served as governor of Michigan since his military days.

A selection of military-related campaign items, including Gen. U.S. Grant, President Abraham Lincoln and Gen. George McClellan from the Civil War and 1880's rival generals, James Garfield and Winfield Hancock.



The first Republican presidential candidate, John Charles Fremont, won fame as an explorer for the U.S. Army with the rank of colonel and later served as a general in the Civil War. The 1876 Populist and 1880 Greenback presidential candidate, James B. Weaver, was also a Civil War general and even the anti-imperialist William Jennings Bryan made sure he qualified to wear the uniform of a volunteer and posed for pictures in military garb.

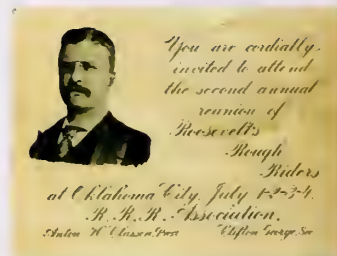
Through the period of non-veteran presidents from Taft to FDR, even their opponents lacked service records. Alton Parker, Eugene Debs, Charles Evans Hughes, James Cox, John Davis, Robert LaFollette, Al Smith, Alf Landon and Tom Dewey had no military service, although Wendell Willkie had served as a lieutenant in World War I.

The Eisenhower era and the subsequent Cold War reemphasized military credentials and almost every presidential hopeful during that time could boast of service with the notable exceptions of Adlai Stevenson and Hubert Humphrey. Barry Goldwater was a general and fighter pilot and even the antiwar crusader George McGovern had flown missions in World War II. Walter Mondale and Mike Dukakis didn't get past the ranks of corporal and specialist respectively, but both served.

In the current post-9/11 environment, it is no surprise that Democrats hoped that John Kerry's combat service would shield them from accusations that they weren't tough enough, a point emphasized when Kerry began his convention acceptance speech with a salute and the statement that he was "reporting for duty." While Kerry wasn't successful, his military record may well have been an important factor in the closeness of the race.

Given the life and death issues implicit in military matters, it is no surprise that voters treat military experience as a major factor in their decision when choosing a president. What is more surprising is the fact that our biggest wars were fought by civilian presidents while none of our presidents known primarily as military men - Washington, Jackson, Harrison, Taylor, Grant or Eisenhower - ever took the country to war. Perhaps it is similar to the phenomenon of a rightwing Richard Nixon going to Red China. If you want peace, vote for a general.

Editor Michael Kelly (APIC #395) has published hundreds of articles on history, politics and economics. He serves on the staff of Mott Community College in Michigan and earned his BA from the University of Notre Dame and his MA from Wayne State University.



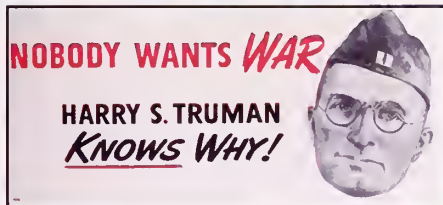
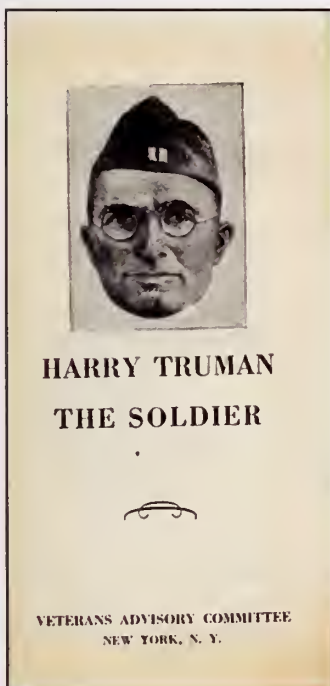
His image as a Rough Rider was critical to bringing Theodore Roosevelt the popular acclaim that took him to the White House.



When William McKinley ran for President, his service as a Major in the Civil War was especially popular with veterans. Note the photo (right) where William Jennings Bryan poses in his uniform as a volunteer in the Nebraska militia.



VETERANS FOR
BUSH '92



Harry Truman's service as a captain in WWI was featured in his 1948 campaign. Even Ronald Reagan's career received a boost when he went on active duty in WWII.



Elections During Wartime

By Paul Rozycki



Usually, the best advice for any candidate in a "typical" election is "it's the economy stupid" after James Carville's famous 1992 rallying cry. Most of the time it's a pretty good way to approach an election. Usually people do vote on their pocketbooks, but not during wartime.

During wartime the obvious top issue is the military conflict and how the administration is handling it. Much of the campaign memorabilia during wartime is wrapped in military colors. The conventional wisdom is that during wartime we don't want to 'change horses' in the middle of the stream and sometimes that is exactly how the voters see it. But a quick look at our wartime elections shows that to be far too simple. In a few cases, we have changed horses, if not during the election, then just before the election. In two cases we did not change leadership in the middle of a war and in one election, key military events kept us from a potentially dramatic shift of American history.

1864

At the beginning of 1864 the nation seemed bogged down in our most costly war. The quick victory that the Union armies expected in 1861 had not come, and Lincoln went through a series of generals to find one who could win for the Union. George B. McClellan, one of the dismissed generals, was nominated on the first ballot in 1864 by the Democratic Party. Though McClellan was a famous Union general, the Democratic Party wrote a platform that demanded an immediate peace with the South and essentially repudiated the whole war effort. McClellan had major differences with Lincoln and the Republicans but he did not feel that the war effort should be totally rejected and did his best to separate himself from the Democratic platform. In spite of that, many including Lincoln himself, felt that the Republicans were likely to lose the fall election. A splinter Republican group nominated John C. Fremont as an alternative to Lincoln during the summer of 1864. Some Republicans called for both Lincoln and Fremont to withdraw in favor of someone who could defeat McClellan. Fremont did withdraw. In August, Lincoln asked his cabinet members to prepare concession statements where they would promise to work with the newly elected administration. In the end Lincoln was handily reelected. The military victories of Grant, Sherman and Sheridan in the fall of 1864 gave the union supporters hope that the war might soon come to a successful conclusion and that it was not time for "peace at any price." Running on the Union Party ticket, Lincoln and the Republicans won 212 electoral votes to McClellan's 21.



A fabulous set of jugate ferrotypes from the 1864 election. These items have a ferrotypes photo of the presidential candidate on one side and his running mate on the back. Left to right: Republicans Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, Democrats George McClellan and George Pendleton, and the Radical Democracy's John Fremont and John Cochrane. (Photos courtesy Heritagegalleries.com).



1944

In 1944 the nation was also approaching the end of a long and bloody war and Franklin Roosevelt was running for his fourth term. Though there was major controversy over his going for an unprecedented third term in 1940,

by 1944 there was little doubt that he would be a "good soldier" and accept the fourth nomination. The nomination of FDR was certain and he accepted it in a radio address

from the San Diego Naval Base where he was attending a wartime conference. The choice of vice president was far less certain. Henry Wallace's liberal views were unacceptable to the South and Roosevelt backed away from supporting him. In the balloting for vice president some 12 names were put forward and in the end Missouri Senator Harry Truman was selected.

The Republicans also chose their nominee quickly. New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey was chosen on the first ballot after Ohio Governor John Bricker and Minnesota Governor Harold Stassen withdrew before the voting. The only dissenting vote was a single vote cast for General Douglas MacArthur. Bricker was chosen as Dewey's running mate.

The problem that any challenger has during a wartime election is how to campaign against the incumbent without seeming unpatriotic and unsupportive of the war effort. Dewey tried to argue that he would have run the war more efficiently and been better prepared than FDR. He also denounced the growth of governmental power under the New Deal of the 1930s. Dewey also raised the issue of Roosevelt's health. After twelve years in the presidency, he was showing his age and Dewey campaigned against the "tired old men" in the White House.

While challenging any wartime president is difficult some polls taken during that year showed some surprising possibilities for Dewey. By mid 1944, things were going the Allies' way and Germany and Japan were on the run. But how long would it take to finish the job? One poll showed that if the war were still underway on election day, Roosevelt would win by a comfortable margin, probably eight points or more. If the war were over in the European theater, but not the Pacific, FDR would win by only two points. And if the war was finished in both theaters, Dewey would win by as much as 10 points. By November it was clear that the end of the war was in sight, but that it might still be some time before it was fully over. Some military experts predicted that the war with Japan might last until 1947 or longer.



Although Woodrow Wilson didn't face a presidential election during WWI, he did face the 1918 midterm elections.

Breaking the bipartisan coalition that had backed the war, Wilson called on Americans to vote Democratic to show their support for his war leadership. The public resented his partisanship and gave the Republicans a landslide victory.

3-1/2" FDR button shown reduced.

Roosevelt dealt with the issue of his health by campaigning vigorously in defense plants, in open car parades, in bad weather, in New York and Philadelphia. He showed that he hadn't lost his feel for his audience when he responded to Republican charges that he diverted a military destroyer to pick up his dog Fala. In his famous "Fala speech" Roosevelt said: "These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks on me, on my wife, or on my sons. No, not content with that, they now include my little dog Fala. Well, of course, I don't resent attacks, and my family doesn't resent attacks, but [pause] Fala does resent them." The audience roared and it seemed to show that the old Roosevelt touch was still there.

In the end Roosevelt won a fourth term, though by the closest margin of his four elections, 53% to 46%.

1952

In 1952 the nation was in the midst of the Korean War, a war that proved to be particularly frustrating to Americans. Unlike the grand march across Europe or the Pacific in WWII, the Korean War had settled down to a stalemate that was costing American lives and treasure. Though Truman could have run again (the recently passed 22nd amendment didn't apply to him) the Korean War, a series of scandals, charges of communist influence and the fallout over the firing of General MacArthur caused him to announce that he would not be a candidate in 1952.

After some persuasion, the Democrats nominated Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson, who chose Alabama Senator John Sparkman as his running mate. The Republicans, after a divided convention, chose General Dwight D. Eisenhower and California Senator Richard Nixon for their ticket. While there were many campaign issues, (Nixon's 'Checkers' speech is perhaps the first successful use of the new medium of television in a campaign), the war and war related issues dominated. The Republicans campaigned on the formula "K1-C2" which stood for "Korea, Communism and Corruption," blaming the Democrats for all three. Ike may have won the contest when, just before the election, he promised to "go to Korea" if he were elected, to seek an end to the war. He did, and the war came to a halt shortly thereafter.

1968/72

1968 was another year when the forces of war caused a president to choose not to run. By 1968 the Vietnam War had become Lyndon Johnson's war and he faced daily demonstrations blaming him for it. After the Tet offensive, and a surprisingly strong showing by Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarthy in the New Hampshire primary, LBJ announce that he "would not seek and would not accept his party's nomination for president." In a tumultuous year that saw the assassination of Martin Luther King, Robert F. Kennedy and the anti-war riots at the Chicago Democratic Convention, the Democrats nominated Vice-president Hubert Humphrey and Maine Senator Ed Muskie. The Republicans chose Richard Nixon and Maryland Governor Spiro Agnew.

In a year when the nation began to turn against the Vietnam War, it was difficult for Humphrey to separate himself from the Johnson administration. Many of the anti-war Democrats either opposed him or supported him reluctantly. As part of the incumbent administration, he shared the blame for the war and the domestic unrest that surrounded it. The upheavals over the war and civil rights also brought Alabama Governor George Wallace into the race as a third party candidate.

Richard Nixon was able to call on his foreign policy experience and campaigned as one who "had a plan" to end the war and "bring the nation together." In spite of a last minute surge by Humphrey, Nixon won a close victory. In 1972, with the war continuing, but nearing its conclusion, Nixon won a landslide over Senator George McGovern who urged an immediate end to the war with the slogan "Come Home America."



2004

The 2004 election may be the most unusual wartime election. After the 9/11 attacks, the nation declared a "War on Terror" and pursued military action in Afghanistan and Iraq. Yet the nation didn't go through a mobilization or the draft, as it had in the Civil War, WWI, WWII, Korea and Vietnam. Still, war images and issues dominated the campaign. George Bush campaigned as the Commander in Chief and urged the nation to stay the course as all wartime presidents have done. Democratic challenger John Kerry faced the same dilemma that most challengers face when confronting a wartime president. How do you challenge the incumbent and still seem both loyal and supportive of the war effort? More importantly, how do you do this and not seem to be a "Flip-Flopper." Kerry set the theme at the Democratic Convention when he kicked off his campaign by "reporting for duty" as a Vietnam vet with endorsements from a number of military leaders. Much of the campaign turned on military issues. Did George Bush really report for duty in the Alabama National Guard? Did John Kerry really earn his Vietnam War medals? Did he really throw them over the White House fence when he led the Vietnam Veterans Against the War? Were the 'Swift Boat' veterans right?

Facing the same dilemma as McClellan and Dewey, Kerry lost to the incumbent Commander in Chief.

Paul Rozycki (APIC #11384) is a Professor of Political Science at Mott Community College in Michigan. He earned his BA from Northern Illinois University and his MA from Indiana University.



The first President Bush won a swift victory in Desert Storm and gained huge popular support. That support faded quickly, however, as economic concerns replaced the war as the major issue. Bush 41 was harshly criticized at the time for not going into Baghdad and "finishing the job" but the problems Bush 43 is having in Iraq make his father's decision more understandable.



Generals Who Didn't Become Commander in Chief

By Paul Rozycki

We grant the President of the United States a number of titles—Chief Executive, Chief of State, Chief Diplomat and others. But no title is more revered and respected than that of Commander in Chief. We expect the president to lead the military and we have elected more than a few top level military officers to the White House. By one count, a dozen presidents have attained the rank of general before they became the commander in chief.

But being a well-known and successful general is no guarantee of political success. More than a few generals have met their Waterloo on the 'Road to the White House.' Some years ago, historian Arthur Schlesinger divided American military leaders into two categories-- "Cavaliers" and "Roundheads." The Cavaliers were aristocratic military officers who embraced the pomp and ceremony of the military life and wrapped themselves in all the medals and epaulets they could find. The Roundheads avoided grandiose glory and ceremony and saw themselves as "one of the troops." When it comes to electing generals to the White House we tend to elect the Roundheads and turn down the Cavaliers, whatever victories they may have won on the battlefield. Like most generalizations, this one is not perfect, but it is a good guide to those generals who did not become the Commander in Chief.

With the rise of the Whig party in the 1830s and 40s, the nation saw the "reign of the epaulets" when one decorated general after another was nominated for president. The Whigs won with Gen. William Henry Harrison in 1840 and Gen. Zachary Taylor in 1848 but lost with Gen. Winfield Scott in 1852.

Scott made his reputation in both the War of 1812 and the Mexican War, where he was the commanding general. Scott professionalized the army and won one of the most notable victories in the war of 1812. In the Mexican War, he led a brilliant campaign that caused the Duke of Wellington to call him "The greatest living soldier" of the time. Nonetheless, during the 1852 campaign, the Democrats labeled him "Old Fuss and Feathers" for his love of military pomp and ceremony. To be sure, he lost for a number of reasons. The issues of slavery and secession were fracturing the old Whig party and the elements were in the air to create the new Republican Party for the next election. But being "Old Fuss and Feathers" didn't help.

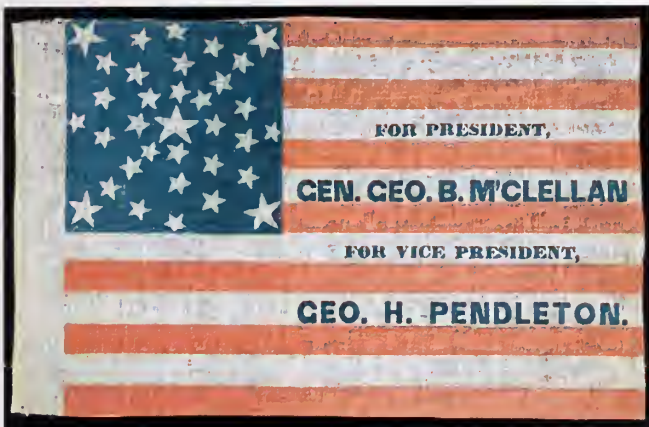
In the next election, it was the new Republican Party that made John C. Fremont its first presidential nominee in 1856. Though he didn't become a general until after the presidential campaign, Fremont was a colorful character both in and out of the military. An ambitious adventurer, he married into the family of Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton and became an ardent advocate of Manifest Destiny, the belief that America was foreordained to move west and fill up the continent. His many explorations in the west painted a grand and glorious picture of what lay there for potential settlers. As a captain in the military he found himself caught in a dispute between two major officers in California and was court marshaled and resigned from the service.



Critics warned of a "reign of epaulets" but political parties still nominated generals, including Gen. Andrew Jackson in 1828, Gen. W.H. Harrison in 1840, Gen. Zachary Taylor in 1848, Gen. Winfield Scott in 1852, Gen. John Fremont in 1856 and Gen. George McClellan in 1864. More were to follow.

In their first convention in Philadelphia, the Republican Party nominated him on the second ballot with the slogan "Free Soil, Free Men, Fremont and Victory!" As an opponent of slavery, he raised the issues that split the nation in the 1860 election, but he was defeated by an odd combination of rumors. Though he was an Episcopalian, he lost the Catholic vote because he was thought to be part of the anti-Catholic "Know Nothing" movement but he was also accused of being a Catholic by others. Because of his court martial he was accused of being anti-military. His anti-slavery stance caused some in the South to threaten secession if he should win. He received about a third of the vote and lost to Democrat James Buchanan but established the Republican Party as the alternative to the Democrats. Later, during early days of the Civil War, he was given command of the western war effort by Lincoln. Headstrong and independent, Fremont took it upon himself to issue his own order

of emancipation and was relieved of his command shortly thereafter.



To no one's surprise, the Civil War created more than a few generals who were presidential candidates. George McClellan seemed like the "Savior of the Union" when he was appointed by Lincoln to be the commander of the Army of the Potomac. A wonderful planner and builder, McClellan created the well-organized Union Army out of the raw recruits of the early 1860s. However, once he created the army he was reluctant to use it, and after much frustration, Lincoln removed him in 1862. In 1864, McClellan was nominated by the Democratic Party and seemed to have a good chance of winning. The nation was

weary of what seemed to be Lincoln's endless war and a McClellan victory offered the chance of an early end to the death and destruction. Only when Sherman captured Atlanta, in the fall of 1864, was the nation willing to stay the course and reelect Lincoln. Though well liked as a commander of his troops, McClellan was not their choice for president. The union soldiers voted for Lincoln in greater proportion than the overall population and "Little Mac" went down to defeat.

Winfield Scott Hancock, like his namesake, was a career military man, who earned his first stripes in the Mexican War and rose to the rank of general in the Civil War. Known as "Superb Hancock" for his drive for perfection and attention to detail, he earned the support of Democrats for his liberal policies towards the ex-confederate states in the years following the Civil War. He was seriously proposed as a nominee as early as 1868 but finally earned the Democratic nomination in 1880 to run against James Garfield. It was Garfield, ironically, that led the attempt to have Hancock retired from the military because of his over-lenient treatment of the South. In one of the closest elections in American history, Civil War General Garfield defeated Civil War General Hancock by about 1900 votes nationwide.

Four years later a Civil War general would choose not to run for president and make his name an adjective. William Tecumseh Sherman is sometimes called the inventor of modern warfare, with its destruction of both the military and civilian side of the enemy. Sherman's "March to the Sea" devastated the South and assured Lincoln's reelection in 1864. After the war he led similarly harsh campaigns against the Indians. His statement "War...is all hell" reflected his view of war. Some Democrats proposed him for their nomination in 1884 but he responded with what is still called a "Shermanesque" reply: "If nominated, I will not run; if elected I will not serve."

At Sherman's funeral Confederate General Joseph Johnston, who had commanded the resistance to Sherman in Georgia and South Carolina, served as a pall-bearer. On the very cold February day, a friend of the elderly Johnston urged him to wear his hat out of fear for his health. Johnston replied: "If I were in [Sherman's] place, and he were standing in mine, he would not put on his hat."



After the funeral Johnston did catch a cold and died shortly afterwards.

In 1900 the Republicans renominated William McKinley and some conservative Democrats were not willing to give William Jennings Bryan a second chance. They contacted the hero of the Spanish American War, Admiral George Dewey. Dewey at first declined, but then gave it a second thought and said to his supporters: "I am convinced that the office of the president is not such a very difficult one to fill." Once the quote circulated, any support he might have had disappeared and Bryan was easily nominated a second time.

The 1920 Republican nomination took eleven candidates, ten ballots and the traditional "smoke filled room" to pick a candidate. Two generals were significant players in the contest. General John J. Pershing was the great hero of the First World War. When he returned from the war the U.S. Congress honored him with the title "General of the Armies." He was so popular that one senator urged that both parties nominate him on a unity ticket for



Above: Two buttons celebrating General Pershing and one boosting Admiral Dewey.



Our Candidate for President!

This may not meet with your approval. It is seldom that one can please everybody. It is our business to please and if you will come to the studio we will use every effort to make you a dozen pictures that will be the best you ever had.

GALLERY AT OAKLAND OPEN
Wednesday, Nov. 1, 1899
Until Tuesday, Nov. 7th.

Copying, Crayon Portraits, and Framing, Specialties.

W. H. HOWE,
 Photographer.



**TAKE THIS CARD TO THE
 POLLS
 APRIL 20TH**

VOTE

For President:
**JOHN J. PERSHING
 of Nebraska**

For Delegates-at-Large
 Vote for 4
**TITUS LOWE
 ELMER J. BURKETT
 CHARLES H. KELSEY
 GEORGE S. AUSTIN**

For Alternate-at-Large
CARL E. HERRING

First District Delegates
 Vote for 2
**MARK W. WOODS
 ANDREW P. MORAN**

First District Alternate
IDA DUNBAR

Not a Slate, but a List of Candidates Who Will Vote for Your Choice

2

the 1920 election. That didn't happen, but supporters soon formed "Pershing for President" clubs in his home state of Nebraska. Though Pershing did not formally say he was running, he toured the country as if he were a candidate and said he "would not decline to serve" if elected. His name was placed on the ballot in the Nebraska primary and he finished fifth among five candidates. A little later the Literary Digest did a poll of eight possible Republican nominees and Pershing finished eighth. In the smoke filled rooms that selected Ohio Senator Warren Harding, Pershing's name was not even mentioned.



Gen. Leonard Wood was TR's commanding officer in Cuba and the leading GOP candidate in 1920 before the "smoke filled room" picked Harding. For more about Wood, see the Summer 1998 Keynoter.

General Leonard Wood's candidacy lasted longer than Pershing's that year. Wood graduated from Harvard Medical School and served as a physician for the Army beginning in 1885. He fought in the last campaign against Geronimo in 1886. President Cleveland chose him as his White House physician. He was awarded the Medal of Honor in 1898. He fought with Teddy Roosevelt in the Spanish American War and was Governor of Cuba until 1902. By 1910 he was named Chief of Staff of the Army, where he modernized the Army for the 20th century. In the 1920 Republican convention he was a very serious competitor for the nomination. A Literary Digest poll showed him to be the front-runner and he had done well in the primaries. He led on the first four ballots, but was still short of a majority. After a hasty adjournment and deal making in the 'smoke filled rooms' of Chicago's Blackstone Hotel, Harding was anointed and finally won a majority on the 10th ballot. Wood was considered a possible candidate for vice president with Harding, but was also denied that honor when Calvin Coolidge was chosen.

Douglas MacArthur, called the "American Caesar" by William Manchester, is possibly the best example of a "Cavalier." A brilliant military strategist, he carved out a spectacular career at West Point, during the First World War and Chief of the General Staff in the Philippines. He retired from the Army in 1937 only to return to duty in 1941 on the eve of the Japanese Attack on Pearl Harbor.

During WWII, MacArthur took command of the Southwest Pacific forces and "island hopped" his way to Japan where he accepted the final surrender of the deck of the U.S.S. Missouri on September 2, 1945. When the war was over he directed the allied occupation of Japan and the reconstruction of the country.



The "I shall return" button and matchbook feature General MacArthur with American and Philippine flags. The matchbooks were circulated in the Philippine islands during Japanese occupation to encourage resistance.



When the Korean War began in 1950 he was appointed commander of the UN forces in South Korea, where he demonstrated his military brilliance with the Inchon invasion. When the North Koreans mounted a strong counterattack, he publicly disagreed with President Truman over bombing bases along the Chinese border. After a lingering, public dispute he was dismissed by Truman and came back to the U.S. to a hero's welcome. MacArthur was nominated for president on three different occasions. In 1944, even though he was still overseas, he received one vote at the Republican convention. In 1948, though Dewey won the nomination handily, MacArthur received 11 votes for the nomination. Again in 1952, with General Dwight Eisenhower in the race, MacArthur was hardly a leading contender, but did receive 10 votes for the nomination. The 1952 nomination may be the best example of the Roundheads being preferred to the Cavaliers when electing generals.

Alexander Haig graduated from West Point in 1947 and after tours of duty in Europe and Asia, faced combat in Vietnam. He returned to Washington and worked for

Henry Kissinger in 1969. He served as Richard Nixon's Chief of Staff until after the Watergate resignation, when he became NATO Commander. In 1981 he became Ronald Reagan's Secretary of State, resigning after reported policy differences in 1982. He is most remembered for his statement at the White House at the time of the Reagan assassination attempt, when he said "I am in control here" when, in fact, the secretary of state is several levels removed in the line of succession. In 1988, he ran for the Republican nomination and after a poor showing in the primaries, stepped aside.

Wesley Clark served as Supreme Allied Commander of NATO where he directed Operation Allied Force in the Kosovo conflict. Clark, a top West Point graduate, was wounded in Vietnam, headed the U.S. military team during the negotiations for the Dayton Peace Accords on Bosnia. Just before his tour of duty was up, he was relieved by the Secretary of Defense, the result of conflict over leadership decisions.

In the 2004 campaign for the Democratic nomination Clark was one of the later entrants into the field, announcing in September of 2003. With a

late start, he had some difficulty putting together a clear, focused campaign. As a recent convert to the Democratic Party, he had made a number of statements supporting Republicans in the past, which hurt him among Democratic primary voters. However, some Democrats saw him as a very strong candidate against George Bush who was certain to run on his Commander in Chief credentials. In addition to traditional Democratic groups, Clark was supported by filmmaker Michael Moore and singer Madonna, who hosted a fundraiser for him. Clark intended to skip the first caucus and then move up in the later caucuses and primaries. It never really happened. After a few third place or worse finishes, he won only the Oklahoma primary and finally dropped out in February 2004, endorsing John Kerry. One unique artifact of his campaign was the use of the Clark candy bar to keep his name in front of the public.



Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural National Historic Site

By Bren Price

At the dawn of the 20th century, Buffalo, New York was located within a 500-mile radius of the most populated cities in North America. Its proximity to Canada, Niagara Falls and the Great Lakes made it a perfect backdrop for the Pan-American Exposition. Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt presided over the opening ceremonies in May 1901 with great hope and inspiration. But its glittering grandeur and optimistic outlook were dimmed and scuttled by the assassination of President William McKinley during a visit to the Exposition in September.

Upon hearing of the shooting, Vice President Roosevelt, who was at a speaking engagement in Vermont, rushed to Buffalo. When the President appeared to be recovering from his wounds, Roosevelt left for a trip to the Adirondack Mountains, only to be called back when the President took a sudden turn for the worse. A frantic carriage and train ride across the state returned Roosevelt to Buffalo but not before McKinley had died.

While in Buffalo, TR had stayed at the home of his friend, Ansley Wilcox. In the afternoon of McKinley's death, many cabinet members and Judge John Hazel had gathered in the library of the stately Wilcox home where Theodore Roosevelt was sworn in as the 26th President of the United States at about 3:30 p.m. on September 14, 1901.

The years since were not kind to the posh Wilcox home, especially when it was transformed into a restaurant, and then left unoccupied for several years. But a renewed effort in the 1960s and 1970's saved one of Buffalo's greatest treasures. It has been painstakingly restored to its grand 1901 appearance, with many original furnishings and fixtures returned.

Today it is part of the National Park Service and under the executive leadership of Mrs. Molly Quackenbush. It flourishes with a professional museum staff, hundreds of volunteers, comprehensive education programs, a yearly lecture series, many holiday/seasonal events, a Pan-American and Assassination Exhibit, a gift shop and, of course, TR memorabilia.

The Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural Site is open Monday - Friday from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. and on Saturday and Sunday from noon to 5:00 p.m. It is closed on major holidays. Guided tours are available on demand for a nominal fee. It is located at 641 Delaware Ave, Buffalo, NY 14202-1079. Phone 716-884-0095 or check the web site at www.nps.gov/thri.



Bren T. Price, Sr. (APIC #3965) is a retired school superintendent and teacher who has recently been appointed as the Executive Director of the Western New York Educational Service Council. He serves as an outreach volunteer for the TR Inaugural Site in Buffalo doing a "Campaigning Through History" program for community groups.

WILLIE AND JOE IN POLITICS

One of the best-known pins for Adlai Stevenson's 1952 campaign for president is the "I Like Stevenson" button featuring Willie, a cartoon soldier drawn by cartoonist Bill Mauldin. During World War II, Willie and his pal Joe became symbols of the ordinary G.I., suffering through the danger and drudgery of life among the lower ranks in the front line. The cartoon figures became widely popular with soldiers and civilians alike and Bill Mauldin went on to a successful career as a political cartoonist. This button aimed to attract veterans to the Stevenson camp.



In 1956, Mauldin launched a campaign for U.S. Congress as a liberal Democrat against the incumbent conservative Republican Katharine St. George in New York's 28th District. Congresswoman St. George was noted for her sharp tongue and such statements as "I will not say that all Democrats are horse thieves but it would seem that all horse thieves are Democrats." Years later, Mauldin would recall, "I kept saying to myself, 'You can't win this thing, Mauldin, so let's get some experience out of it.' Of course I tried to win. I jumped in with both feet and campaigned for seven or eight months. I found myself stumping around up in these rural districts and my own background did hurt there. A farmer knows a farmer when he sees one. So when I was talking about their problems I was a very sincere candidate, but when they would ask me questions that had to do with foreign policy or national policy, obviously I was pretty far to the left of the mainstream up there. Again, I'm an old Truman Democrat, I'm not that far left, but by their lives I was pretty far left."

Mauldin was solidly defeated, despite his putting out a campaign button that featured him with Willie and Joe.

GENERAL GAVIN

As the 1968 election approached, opposition to the Vietnam War grew stronger and antiwar forces searched for someone to challenge President Lyndon Johnson. When Sen.

Robert Kennedy refused to take on what appeared to be a hopeless cause, retired General James Gavin's name was discussed. General Gavin had a distinguished military record and could speak against the Vietnam War with the perspective of a field commander. The entrance of Sen. Eugene McCarthy against LBJ gave the antiwar crowd their candidate and Gavin's name faded,



CAPTAIN STASSEN

Perennial hopeful Harold Stassen was once a serious political figure before his perpetual pursuit of the Presidency brought him mockery. His

1938 election as governor of Minnesota at age 31 made him the youngest governor in history at the time and his progressive administration resulted in two easy re-elections (1940 and 1942). World War II inspired him to resign and join the U.S. Navy where he served on the staff of Admiral William F. Halsey, naval commander in the South Pacific. Stassen's ship was hit twice; he was awarded the Legion of Merit and promoted to captain. Veterans formed a large part of Stassen's support in 1948 but soon even veterans abandoned his hopeless ambition.



Draft Eisenhower!

By Harvey Goldberg



"Draft Eisenhower" movements sprung up in both Democratic and Republican parties in 1948, and again as 1952 approached. Ike ignored the whole thing, stating that as a military officer in a vital post, he could not be allowed to show any partisanship to one party or another. He even quoted Army Regulation AR.600-10.18 which banned partisan political activity by officers on active duty. One might guess that Gen. Douglas MacArthur never read that particular regulation.

Three years later, Ike began to give in to continued pressure to seek office. The General authorized his close friend Clifford Roberts to organize an advisory group to quietly look at the situation. The strongest supporter among this group was Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. Lodge used every means possible to convince Eisenhower to declare himself a Republican candidate for President in 1952.

Ike made it clear that he would never seek the nomination, but admitted that he would have to respond if "called to a higher duty." In January 1952, Lodge entered Eisenhower in the New Hampshire GOP primary without the General's knowledge. Ike then admitted that he would not "actively seek" it, but if the Republican nomination was offered to him, he would accept it.

Early in February of that year, Ike viewed a tribute film entitled "Serenade to Ike", which moved him greatly. After

the viewing, several people raised their glasses and toasted him "to the next President of the United States." He was flattered by all of this attention, but still doubted that widespread

New Hampshire Republican Primary: March 11, 1952		
Candidate	Votes	Percentage
Dwight D. Eisenhower	46,661	50.4%
Robert A. Taft	35,838	38.7%
Harold E. Stassen	6,574	7.1%
Douglas MacArthur*	3,227	3.5%
(*Write-in ballots)		

public support actually did exist. Little over a month later, the results of the New Hampshire primary convinced him that it did; General Eisenhower won all the Republican delegates and soundly defeated Senator Taft (who had campaigned intensively in the state) by a vote of 50% to 38%. Ike won handily over Robert Taft, Harold Stassen, and write-in candidate Douglas MacArthur. He "was astounded and moved by the results." Finally convinced that he was being "called to a higher duty," he announced his candidacy the next day.

Right: Woodrow Wilson ran for re-election in 1916 promising to "Keep Us Out of War." But, as the button on the left shows, preparedness was still a campaign issue. Four months after his inauguration, he declared war. (Button reduced).

The middle image is a lobby card from a Ronald Reagan movie. Ronald Reagan

served in the military during WWII but never saw actual combat. However, he often did battle in his films. On the far right is a handsome FDR/Churchill jugate celebrating the wartime alliance.

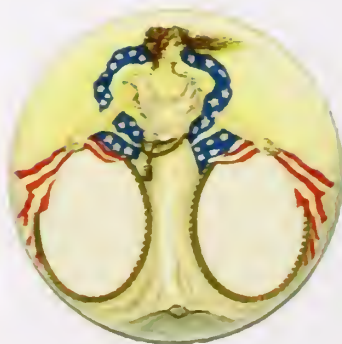


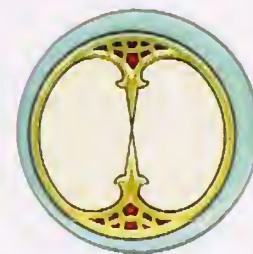
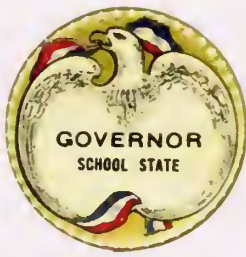
Nobody For President

By Robert Fratkin

I have mentioned several times the techniques used by the button manufacturers in the early part of the last century to drum up business. These included the use of commercial travelers (known as drummers) and the production of samples with the pictures of the candidates to be sent to local dealers (spec production), which were shown in a recent *Keynoter*. Samples were sent to local politicians and businesses usually known as Stamp and Seal Companies. These businesses were the equivalent of today's stationary printers. Besides doing their own work, these stores acted as representatives for national companies. The biggest of these national companies was Whitehead and Hoag in Newark, New Jersey, which held the earliest patents on pinback buttons.

But the manufacturers had still another way to encourage orders—the production of buttons without pictures, just to show off the availability of their colorful designs. I only know of one other serious collector of these buttons, but I suspect we are not alone. Most of these designs are very familiar to collectors, and we look at them today and imagine the candidates' faces in the blank spaces, but these are attractive collectibles in their own right. The fun of having *The Keynoter* in full color is the chance to show you these interesting footnotes to our hobby in all their glory. [The two buttons with rectangular centers were used in 1918-19 to commemorate World War I.]





The
Sommer's
Portrait
in this
Space

Hands Across the Sea: British War Time Commemoratives and the Lend Lease Act

By Brian Krapf

I am a dedicated collector of World War II era items that commemorate both President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill. I personally believe Winston Churchill was the greatest political leader the world has ever known. During the recent Millennium celebrations, his countrymen voted Churchill the greatest Englishman of all time. He and FDR together forged the most successful international alliance of the 20th Century.

There are many examples of china, glassware, textiles, and paper items commemorating the Roosevelt/Churchill relationship. Later examples, produced after 1943, feature "The Big Three," adding the Soviet Union's leader Joseph Stalin. The china is of particular interest, as Britain has been known for centuries as one of the world's leading manufacturers and exporters of fine china. Indeed, many of the wartime commemoratives were produced by the companies which, in the pre and postwar eras, produced some of the world's finest tableware; Wedgwood, Spode, Doulton, and other recognized "brand names" shifted into wartime production and produced the relics collected today.

However, it is important to note these items are not merely contemporaneous souvenirs made to be sent home by soldiers and kept on home front mantles. This production was actually part of a government plan to repay Britain's Lend Lease debt to the United States. In short, these pieces are not merely patriotic or commemorative dust collectors; they have a cherished and valued place in documenting the wartime political relationship between Great Britain and the United States, forged by two great leaders.

Beginning in 1938, Winston Churchill, as First Lord of the British Admiralty, began warning Parliament of Britain's need to arm itself against Nazi aggression. No one listened, particularly with Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's continued public assurances to the contrary. FDR began corresponding privately with Churchill, in a precedent-setting maneuver to circumvent proper diplomatic channels of communication with the Prime Minister. By 1939, Britain was at war, sorely lacking in armaments and munitions, and facing ever-increasing Nazi threats of invasion. Despite a diplomatic state visit that year by Britain's King George and Queen Mary, Roosevelt's hands were tied, even though he knew Britain needed to prepare defenses. Simply put, Roosevelt had to obey the Neutrality Act which was passed in 1939. With the recent memories of America's losses in World War One, isolationists led by Senator Robert Taft pushed through these laws, limiting arm sales to nations that were not at war, giving the United States the power to keep citizens from traveling on belligerent ships or to belligerent nations, and prohibiting loans to belligerent nations and nations that were not repaying previous debts. By 1940, the Nazis controlled Europe from the Arctic Circle to Spain and Hitler was calling for the direct invasion of Great Britain.



The Lend Lease Act was passed March 11, 1941 as principal means for providing U.S. military aid to Great Britain. The Act authorized FDR to transfer arms or any other defense materials for which Congress appropriated money to "the government of any country whose defense the president deems vital to the defense of the United States." FDR summarized Lend Lease as "helping to put out the fire in your neighbor's house before your own house catches fire and burns down." In effect, it turned the United States into the "arsenal of democracy" following the eruption of Nazi hostilities. By permitting FDR to ship war equipment and supplies, beginning with World War One American destroyers, to a besieged Britain without payback as stipulated by the 1939 Neutrality Act, Lend Lease empowered the British to resist the German onslaught until Pearl Harbor spurred American into the conflict.

By 1939, all domestic manufacturing in Great Britain was turned into war production. The porcelain manufacturers were not shipping abroad and their factories had been deemed essential for the production of war necessities. Very limited supplies of china and porcelain items were produced during wartime. These were mainly patriotic in nature, and are collected today to commemorate American aid to Great Britain. The government allowed the porcelain manufacturers to produce these items as long as a percentage of the profits were paid to the British government. These funds were earmarked specifically for repayment of the Lend Lease debt. Thus, by selling commemorative china abroad, the British manufacturers were actually aiding their country and helping to uphold the repayment provisions of Lend Lease.

The Lend Lease law originally authorized an appropriation of \$1,000,000.00 in supplies to

Great Britain and later amendments extended additional aid Great Britain, as well as to China in April 1941,

to the Soviet Union in September 1941 and eventually to thirty-five other countries. The aid was valued at \$49,000,000,000.00 by the time the program was terminated in August, 1945. Some of the costs of the Lend Lease program were offset by "Reverse Lend Lease," under which allied nations gave U.S. troops stationed abroad \$8,000,000,000.00 worth of aid. Arrangements for the repayments by the recipient nations began shortly after the war ended. Except for the Soviet debt, of which less than one-third was repaid, repayment was virtually complete by the late 1960s. In 1972, the United States accepted an offer by the Soviet Union to pay \$722,000,000.00 in installments through 2001 to settle its indebtedness.

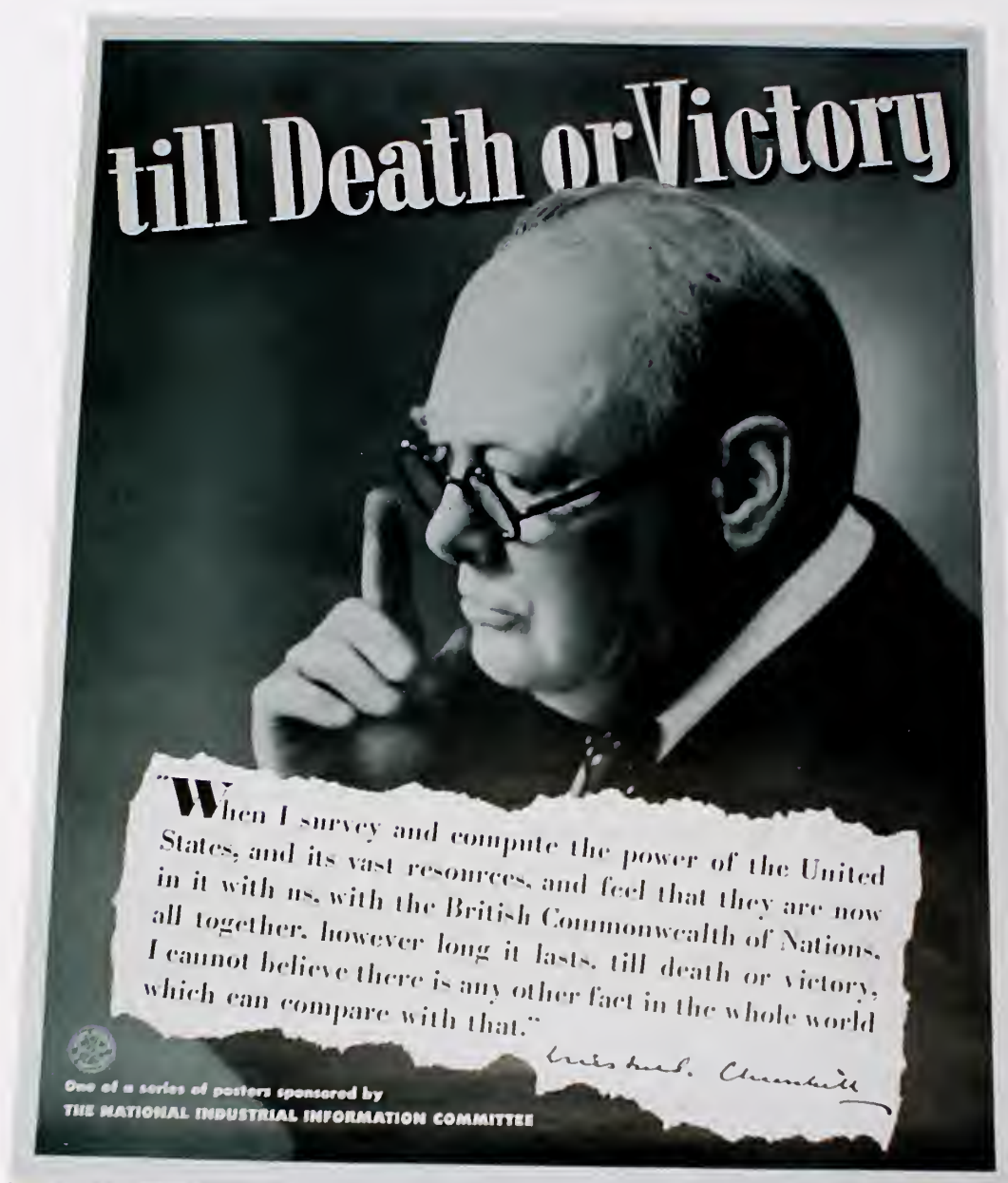
Brian Krapf (APIC #9395) obtained his degree in political science from the University of Georgia, where he concentrated on southern politics. Brian obtained his JD degree from the Walter F. George School of Law and is a civil trial lawyer, specializing in traumatic brain injury and nursing home abuse cases. He currently serves as President of the APIC.

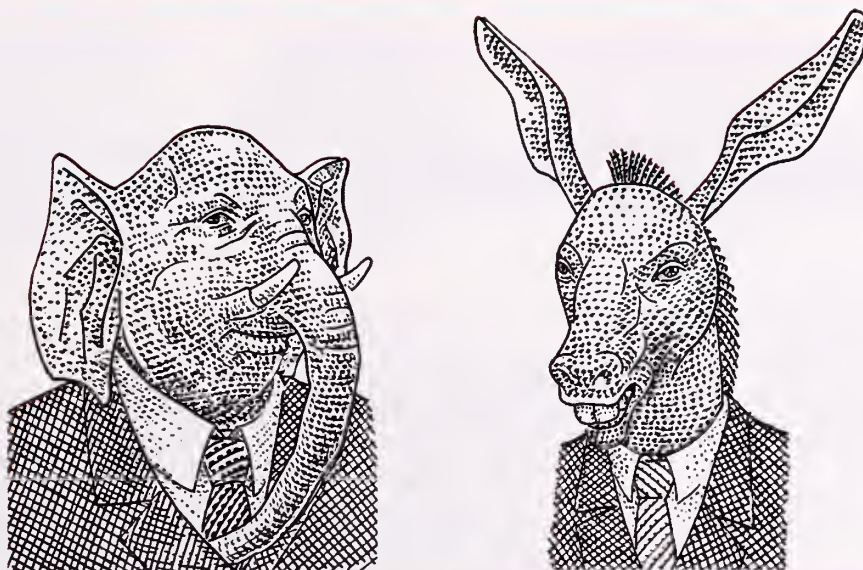


I Want to be a Captain

In 1940 FDR's son Elliott received a commission in the Army Air Corps as a captain. The Republicans jumped on that as a sign of favoritism and issued a series of buttons that hammered away at the theme. The most memorable is the "Papa, I want to be a captain too." Other buttons said "I'll settle for sergeant" and "I don't want Elliott as my captain" and many other similar slogans.

**PAPA
I WANNA
BE A
CAPTAIN
TOO**





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The Great White Fleet

By Harvey Goldberg

It would be the largest fleet of battleships ever to circumnavigate the globe. It had not yet been dubbed the "Great White Fleet." Contemporary news accounts referred to the "Atlantic Fleet" or the "Battle Fleet." Only after the cruise ended would someone hit upon the catchy name that caught the public's fancy and stuck. In contrast to the usual secrecy that surrounds movements of warships, this fleet's voyage was designed to attract maximum notice in the news media. A press center had been created aboard USS Connecticut to cater to the needs of the pool of newsmen invited to sail as passengers.

The total complement was 12,800 officers and men. The ships' batteries included 360 guns ranging in size from six-inch to thirteen-inch. The cost of a single salvo from all the guns was \$50,000.00, which happened to be the size of the president's salary for one year. The fleet carried huge quantities of provisions all of them measured in tons. And there were more than 80 animals aboard the various ships as mascots, including 25 goats, 32 dogs, 21 cats, 12 parrots, and a donkey. Foreign visitors decided the "the American Navy pampers its men too much."

Thousands of gallons of gray battle paint were aboard to transform the gleaming white ships to their wartime colors just in case they had to be ordered into battle. At the turn of that century, Japan was thought of as a potential threat. In world opinion, an eventual war between Japan and the United States was a foregone conclusion - three and a half decades before it happened.

Exactly when President Roosevelt came up with the idea of a Pacific cruise is hard to pinpoint. The original declared destination was San Francisco. His prime purpose in ordering the fleet to sail, T.R. later wrote, "was to impress the American people with the strength and capabilities of their Navy." The other inferred purpose was to ease the fear of Californians that their coast was open to invasion by the Japanese and also to convince Japan that she no longer dominated the Pacific. There were other purposes too: to impress the world with America's new-found naval might and gain recognition as a power among nations. At the same time, stimulating public interest in the Navy would certainly be good for the country - and for Congressional appropriations too. In addition, it would build further support for the Panama Canal, which would give the U.S. faster access to the Pacific.





Why the Navy? Young Theodore Roosevelt had been filled with a sense of glory by two uncles who had served with distinction on Confederate warships. When named Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President McKinley, TR filled the office with his zeal and enthusiasm. Early in 1898, it was Roosevelt who ordered Admiral Dewey and his fleet to Manila in anticipation of war with Spain and, according to many historians, it was TR who did more in bringing the US Navy to its full potential than any American before him.

On the morning of December 16, 1907, the presidential yacht *Mayflower* arrived at Hampton Roads, Virginia. For Theodore Roosevelt, this was one of the supreme moments of his presidency, a moment to be savored. The magnificent fleet was almost entirely his creation, evidence of his devotion to the U.S. Navy and his untiring efforts to strengthen and modernize it.

As the warships got underway that day, each vessel fired a 21-gun salute as it passed the President's yacht. T.R. was delighted: "Did you ever see such a fleet and such a day?" But the Navy's staunchest supporter was aware that the departing ships, as modern and imposing as they appeared, were already on the verge of obsolescence. He realized that it was time to upgrade with even newer warships - and quickly. The men and officers of the fleet were not informed of the 'round-the-world' plans until they were at sea but then heard the order "The President authorizes the Fleet Commander to inform the officers and men that after a short

stay on the Pacific

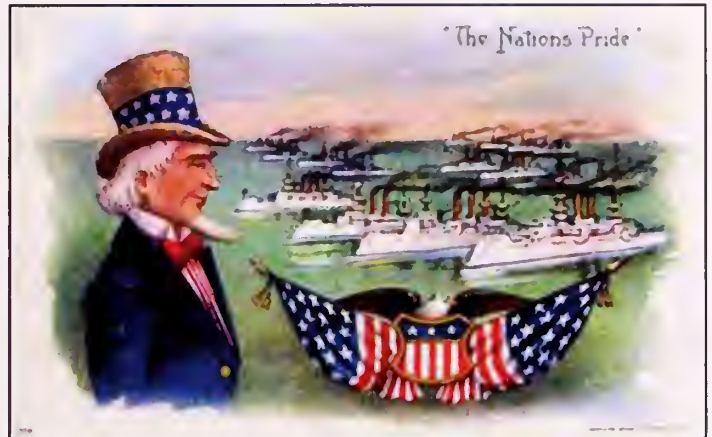
Coast, it is the President's intention to have the fleet return to the Atlantic Coast by way of the Mediterranean." But most of the newspapers had been suggesting the reality of this plan long before their departure.



Of the twenty-six battleships in the US Navy, sixteen made the cruise. Accompanying the capital ships were a flotilla of torpedo boats and four auxiliary vessels. For those unfamiliar with naval history, warships of the era were coal-powered. Coaling stations had to be set up at regular intervals to refuel the fleet. A larger number of coaling vessels (27) were chartered than the number of ships in the fleet itself.

The itinerary was imposing. Under the command of Rear Admiral Robley D. "Fighting Bob" Evans, the fleet sailed south around Cape Horn to the West Coast of the United States. En route, they spent Christmas at Port of Spain on Trinidad, and called at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, Punta Arenas in Chile, Callao in Peru, and Magdalena Bay in Mexico before reaching Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle in May 1908. Robley became ill and was replaced by Admiral Sperry. The U. S. Fleet was the largest single naval contingent to enter the Pacific Ocean up to that time. The second leg of the journey took them to the Hawaiian Islands, Samoa, New Zealand, three stops in Australia, then to Manila in the Philippines, Yokohama in Japan, Amoy (China), Colombo (India), and through the Suez Canal to the Mediterranean. There the fleet broke up into separate divisions in order to visit as many ports as possible - in a dozen different countries. They reformed at Gibraltar for the trip across the Atlantic, returning to Hampton Roads, Virginia on Washington's Birthday - February 22, 1909. The voyage had covered 43,350 miles, visiting some 40 ports and more than 30 countries in 14 months and 6 days. At most of the ports of call, great celebrations were held, with parades, diplomatic visits, etc. Many other countries were disappointed because the U.S. Fleet would not be visiting them.

The financial costs of the cruise were high, but the results were generally positive. Approved renovations and new constructions helped further the modernization of our navy, placing us second behind Great Britain as a naval power. At the same time, the cruise had won the respect of many around the world. It showed that America could - and would - react to a conflict in the Pacific, which well may have forestalled that inevitable war with Japan.



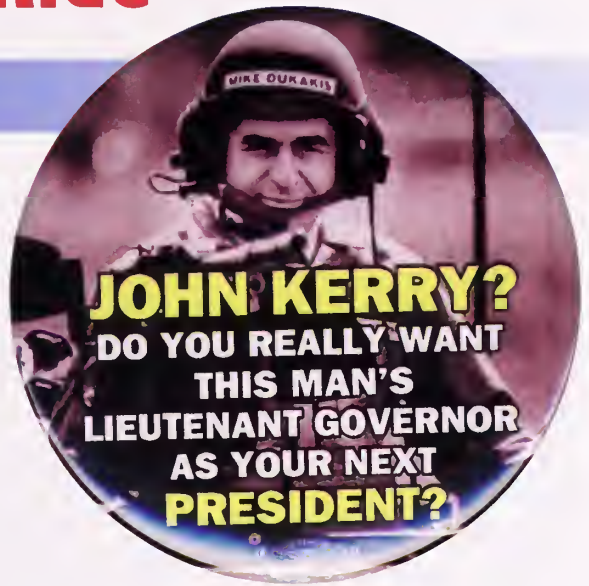
When he left the Oval Office, President Roosevelt had several legacies, any one of which would have been a source of pride for most presidents - he would be remembered as a trust-buster, builder of the Panama Canal, preserver and protector of the environment, and peace-maker (being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for negotiating an end to the Russo-Japanese War). But no other legacy gave him greater satisfaction than the strong navy he fought to establish for the United States: "The most important service that I rendered to peace was the voyage of the battle fleet around the world." In the years following T.R.'s time in office, the navy experienced ups and downs. But it never reached the levels of obsolescence and ineptitude that had it before he had entered the public arena.

An Interesting Note: When the fleet anchored at Honolulu, Hawaii on its cruise, a group of officers made a visit to Pearl Harbor - then just an isolated bay. Congress was appropriating funds for the creation of a naval base in the Pacific, and this was the site under consideration. Among the group were four junior officers whose lives and careers would be dramatically changed at Pearl Harbor more than three decades later: Ensigns Husband Kimmel, Harold Stark, and William F. Halsey, along with Midshipman Raymond Spruance. Kimmel and Stark would be blamed for the losses at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 while Halsey and Spruance would become two of the most respected fleet commanders in the Pacific war against Japan.



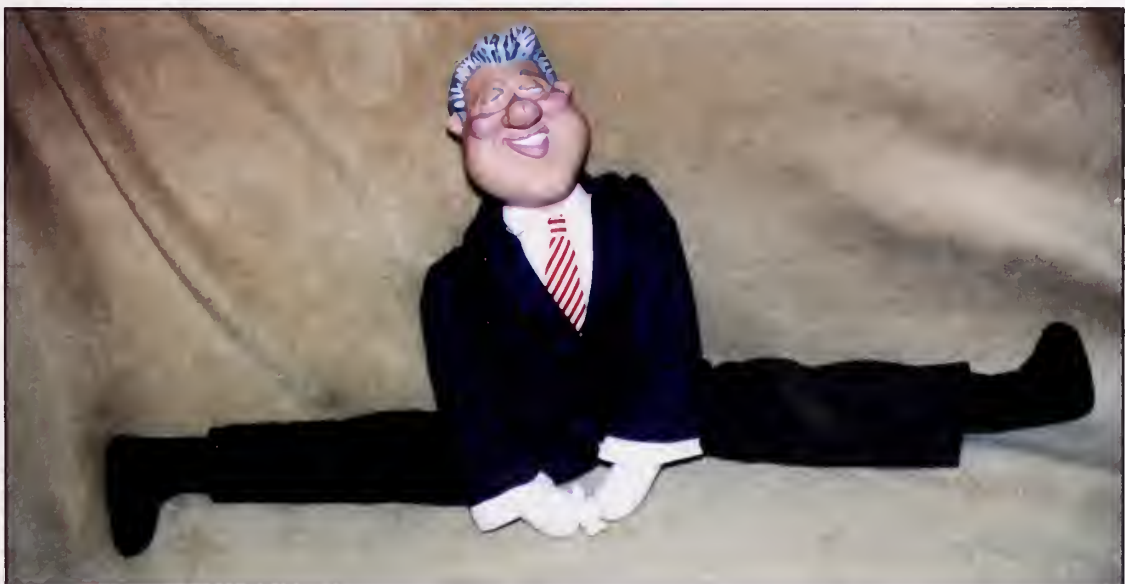
The Dukakis Tank Ride

In 1988, Michael Dukakis tried to create a 'commander-in-chief' photo-op by riding around in a tank with a tank commander's helmet. The only problem was that rather than looking like George Patton leading the charge across Europe, he looked more like comic strip character Beetle Bailey. The image was so powerful that it was used as an anti-Kerry item in 2004. A button showing Dukakis in the tank was used over the text, "John Kerry? Do you really want this man's lieutenant governor as your next president?"



The Bill Clinton Draft Evader

Bill Clinton's attempt to avoid military service was a significant issue in his first campaign and often dogged him during his administration. An unusual novelty item was "The Bill Clinton Draft Evader." It was a Clinton doll whose legs could be laid in front of a door to block the winter-time draft and advertised as "The first president to dodge the draft and save money on your utility bills." It was not a campaign item, but was sold in novelty stores after the election.



Clinton Library Opens in Little Rock

By Phil Ross

November 18, 2004, marked the long-anticipated dedication of the William J. Clinton Presidential Center. The 30-acre campus in downtown Little Rock is home to the Clinton Presidential Library and Museum, and the Clinton School of Public Service. The dedication was part of a great week of collecting for the numerous APIC and Clinton Political Items Collectors (BCPIC) members who attended.

Guests gathered from all over the globe to join President Clinton, his family and various dignitaries. The dedication speakers included President George W. Bush, President Clinton, Senator Clinton, and former Presidents Bush and Carter. The mood of those attending the event was bright and brimming with anticipation despite the cold and soggy weather.

A real treat for collectors was the plethora of Clinton political and other memorabilia on display all over the city of Little Rock. In addition to the Clinton Presidential Museum displays, separate exhibits were set up at the Little Rock Visitors Center, the Little Rock Public Library, the Historic Arkansas Museum, the Old State House, the Holiday Inn Presidential Center, and the Clinton Museum Store. Collectors anxious to see the well-known Arkansas Traveler buttons found numerous opportunities to view buttons issued by that legendary group of Clinton supporters. The best place to start the search for the Arkansas Traveler holy grail was the Historic Arkansas Museum. The exhibit there was wholly dedicated to the history of the legend of the Arkansas Traveler and the subsequent namesake group of Clinton supporters. Several key



President Clinton and Clinton chapter President Phil Ross at the opening of the Clinton Presidential Center.



Arkansas Traveler items are also in the permanent display at the Clinton Presidential Museum.

Little Rock that week was a great place for Clinton collectors to run into each other. While there, my wife Jean and I saw members Glenda Cooper, Trudy Mason, and Philip Feraldi. Later I was in touch with members Charles Greinsky, Joseph Mikyska, David Hyman, and Michael Grandillo about their experiences attending the dedication.

APIC members also had some surprises in store as they discovered items they had given to President Clinton were among those on exhibit. Part of the Clinton Presidential

Museum's permanent collection is devoted to President Clinton's presidential campaigns and includes two panels of buttons from his personal collection. Of note is the Clinton-Gore-Ritter button from the 1992 Michigan campaign, which has photos of Clinton, Gore, and APIC member Dennis Ritter. Elsewhere in the museum is a special baseball given to President Clinton by APIC member Charlie Greinsky.

Jean and I had some surprises during our Museum visits. In 2000, BCPIC met with President Clinton in the Oval Office [see *Keynoter* Winter 2001] and at that time I presented the President with a pen made especially for him, made of wood which came from his second inaugural parade reviewing stand.

During our Oval Office visit, President Clinton accepted the pen and the box which bears a seal and an engraved explanatory plaque and placed it on a side table in the Oval Office, saying "I'm going to keep this right here." While watching Little Rock television coverage the night before the dedication, we saw a preview of the Clinton Presidential Museum's replica Oval Office. Jean and I jumped with glee when we saw a replica of that Oval Office table with the pen in its wooden box resting on it. The next day we eagerly viewed the Oval Office mock-up and, indeed, there was the pen! The next surprise was when we met Skip Rutherford, the Clinton Foundation president, and he told us that BCPIC's special commemorative dedication button (the very limited edition nine inch version given to him and President Clinton) was included in the Little Rock Visitors Center's display. Viewing that exhibit later, we saw not only the chapter's button in all its glory, but also some great Clinton memorabilia from Skip's personal collection. One item, a mug produced by the Clinton Foundation showing images of some fifty Clinton buttons, includes BCPIC's special 2000 White House visit button among the featured images.

As time passed, everything about our visit became better and better. The highlight had to be when we met President Clinton twice at the Museum after the dedication. Jean gave him a BCPIC dedication button and then he kindly auto-

graphed a special museum tour ticket and a museum brochure for me. We snapped a series of photographs of President Clinton proudly greeting visitors to the Museum and Library that he had given to the nation. Best of all, perhaps, we got to do so inside where it was warm and dry!

Philip J. Ross (APIC #4466) is a Virginia attorney and President of the Bill Clinton Political Items Collectors, a chapter of the APIC.



JFK Classic: PT-109

By Harvey Goldberg

Most presidential candidates have had an item that is instantly recognizable and immediately attributed to them. John F. Kennedy's classic item was the "PT-109." After enlisting in the United States Navy at the start of World War II, Kennedy trained at the Motor Torpedo Boat School in Rhode Island. The young lieutenant was then assigned to the Pacific theatre of war and attached to PT Boat Squadron 5, operating out of Tulagi in the Solomon Islands.

The Solomon campaign was the first offensive for the United States in the Pacific between 1942 and 1943. The 6-month battle for Guadalcanal was followed by combat throughout the area, both ashore and at sea. It was in Blackett Strait, near Kolombangara Island that Lt. Kennedy's PT-109 was rammed and sunk by a Japanese destroyer Amagiri on August 2, 1943.

Two of his crew were killed in the collision. Kennedy proceeded to lead the eleven survivors on a 3-1/2 mile swim to the nearest island. Without food or water, the American sailors were surrounded by Japanese-held islands. Three days later they swam to nearby Olasana Island, hoping to get closer to US forces and a possible rescue.

After failing to find patrolling PT-boats by swimming out into the ocean during the nights, Kennedy scratched a message on a coconut which he gave to two natives who had landed a canoe on the island. They delivered the coconut, along with a written note from Lt. Thom, Kennedy's executive officer, to an Australian coast-watcher. Rescue came for the PT-109 crew when they were picked up the night of August 8, 1943. JFK received the Navy-Marine Corps medal for heroism in helping his crew survive and family patriarch, Joseph P. Kennedy, made certain the event was widely celebrated in the media.



The PT-109 "Kennedy 60" tie clasp and pin became a standard giveaway during the 1960 primary and general campaign elections. The similar "Kennedy" PT-boat items without the date were White House giveaways after the election. Altogether, there were more than a dozen different such items used during JFK's campaign and Inauguration. The 'classic' version is pictured here: PT-109-1.



Lucite paperweight included in 1960 convention packs for JFK-pledged delegates

Harvey Goldberg (APIC #3158) is a retired educator who serves as Secretary of the APIC and a Region #2 Director. He has served as editor of the APIC Newsletter since 1984. He is a founder and director of the Kennedy APIC chapter and editor of the Hyannisporter.

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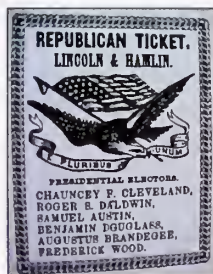
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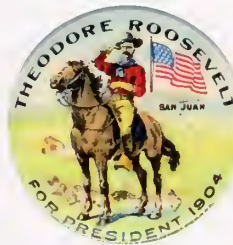
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